1: Holmberg--30 [4] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 152, 261

"The environmental and cultural conditions which exist among the Siriono are most favorable for giving rise to a strong anxiety about questions of food. It would seem, in fact, that of all the basic drives demanding satisfaction for survival, hunger is the one most frequently frustrated."

1: Holmberg--36 [3] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 264, 152

"The habit of eating during the night grows not only out of the necessity of hunting and collecting during most of the day but also out of a reluctance to share food with others. When meals are taken during the day, a crowd of nonfamily members always gathers to beg for morsels, and though little attention is usually paid to them, they do, nevertheless, constitute an annoyance. By eating at odd hours during the night, when nearly everyone else is asleep, an Indian not only gets more food but also avoids the nuisance of having others around to beg it from him. While I was on the march with the Siriono, my Bolivian companion and I were forced to follow the same practice. We found that it was impossible to eat in peace during the day, because we were constantly hounded by children and adults who claimed that they were hungry. The fact that we, too, had not eaten made no impression on them. Consequently we ate the greatest portion of our food at about midnight, when almost everyone else was asleep. A few of my loyal Indian companions, who developed a certain interest in my welfare, used frequently to wake me in the middle of the night to share food which they hated to diaplay during the daytime because of the possibility of their having to divide it with someone else. When we were settled—I then sometimes had a supply of certain foods—it used to amuse me to note how my Indians friends would suggest that they come to my house and eat at night when the others would be fast asleep."

1: Holmberg--36 [5] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 264, 152

"Eating takes place without benefit of etiquette or ceremony. Food is bolted as rapidly as possible, and when a person is eating he never looks up from his food until he has finished, so as to avoid the stares of begging onlookers. The principal goal of eating seems thus to be the swallowing of the greatest quantity of food in the shortest possible time."

1: Holmberg--38 [5] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 273, 527, 533, 152

"As a drinking feast progresses, the Siriono, who is a very uncommunicative fellow when sober, becomes an animated conversationalist, a performer, and a braggart. At the opening of the bout the talk usually turns to the merits of the liquor. One of my more poetic informants, Erésa-eánta (Strong-eyes), used to say, in describing the liquor at the start of almost every drinking feast: 'Yesterday it was without force, like water or like earth, but today it has great strength.' As the effects of the drinking and the smoking begin to be felt, one or more of the participants breaks out in song, usually impromptu and related to some exploit of which he is particularly proud, such as the killing of a tapir or a harpy eagle. Another may be engaged in discussing the desirability of looking for a new wife (always a young one or yukwáki) or of casting out the shrew he now has. As the mood gets mellower everyone joins the singing, and when the party has reached an advanced stage almost everyone is singing a different tune at the same time.

While attending these drinking feasts, I tried my best to record a number of these songs, but I was never able to set down more than snatches of them because of the bedlam and the darkness existing at the time. Moreover, since most of the participants, following a drinking bout, were victims of alcoholic amnesia, brutal hangovers, and high anxieties, it was impossible to get much cooperation from them in this matter later."

1: Holmberg--41 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 152, 461

"Labor is not a virtue among the Siriono. They are relatively apathetic to work (tába tába), which includes such distasteful tasks as house building, gathering firewood, clearing, planting, and tilling of fields. In quite a different class, however, are such pleasant occupations as hunting (gwáta gwáta) and collecting (déka déka, 'to look for'), which are regarded more as diversions than as work. This is not to be wondered at, since these latter pursuits are more directly and immediately connected with the urge for food than are the more distantly rewarding labors of agriculture. What seems to be true, to put it psychologically, is that the responses of hunting, fishing, and collecting have been and are more immediately reinforced than those of agriculture."

1: Holmberg--49-50 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono-1-2
116, 152, 595, 578

"A man enjoys sex rights with all of his wives, but they are not necessarily exercised in any prescribed manner such as by rotating from one wife to another or by concentrating principally on the first wife. In sororal unions the kinship tie between cowives doubtless does much to mitigate friction that might otherwise arise between them, but in non-sororal plural marriages sexual jealousy between cowives is sometimes intense. Since food and sex go hand in hand in Siriono society—and there is a scarcity of the former—the wives with whom the husband most frequently has sex relations are also the ones who generally get the most to eat. Consequently, cowives frequently vie with one another for the sexual favors of their husband. This sometimes leads to bitter fights and quarrels. If, for instance, a first wife is [50] growing old and is receiving less and less attention from her husband as regards both food and sex, she frequently displaces the aggression she feels for him, but cannot express directly, to a younger wife who is enjoying his favors at the moment. Such outbursts of emotion sometimes culminate in bitter fights, the women tearing up each other's hammocks and striking each other with digging sticks and spindles. An aging first wife generally maintains her dominance in the family for a while, but as her husband pays less and less attention to her, she gradually resigns herself to a secondary role in the household. She continues to cling to her economic rights, however, as long as she possibly can, and these are usually maintained longer than her sexual dominance.

A man generally takes no part in the fights that break out between his wives; indeed he

is usually away on the hunt when they occur. Only if they occur too frequently or become too violent does the husband interfere. Under these conditions he may threaten with divorce the wife standing lower in his favor, in order to keep peace in the family."

1: Holmberg--50 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 152, 578, 593

"While relations between husband and wife are generally amicable, quarrels are of frequent occurrence. They usually arise over questions of food and sex. When a man has been out hunting all day without eating and arrives home to find that his wife has not prepared something for him to eat, or if he has had ill luck in hunting and is chided for this by his wife, a quarrel is apt to arise. In situations of this kind it is the husband who expresses the stronger aggression, and as a rule other members of a family take no part in a marital dispute.

If a man is only mildly angry with his wife, his feelings usually go no further than harsh words. He may accuse her of being etómi (lazy) or ečimbási (promiscuous), or threaten her with divorce. If his anger rises to a higher pitch, he may rip a string or two from her hammock or smash one of her pots. If his anger becomes intense, he may tear her hammock to shreds, chase her out of the house with a firebrand, or even turn his anger against himself and break his bow and arrows. He never beats her, however. Following an intense outburst of aggression, to which a woman responds by crying and running into the bush, a man usually leaves the portion of the dwelling which he occupies with his wife and goes back to his relatives until amicable relations have again been established. A man signifies his desire for reconciliation by returning to the hearth of his wife."

1: Holmberg--57 [7] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 152, 606

"While overt behavior between in-laws is usually polite and reserved, suppressed aggression sometimes runs high. This is particularly true in cases where a man is living with his mother-in-law whose husband is dead, for he then has to supply her with food without receiving anything in return. Widowed mothers-in-law have substantial appetites and contribute almost nothing to the family larder. Consequently their sons-in-law regard them as liabilities and avoid relations with them whenever possible."

1: Holmberg--61 [7] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 152, 578, 261

"Data were recorded on 75 disputes that came to my attention, apart from those that took place at drinking feasts. It is significant to note that 44 of them arose directly over questions of food (mostly between women or between husband and wife); 19 broke out over sex (between husband and wife, cowives and women); only 12 were assignable to various other causes. Here we have overwhelming evidence of the important role played by food in Siriono society. It is the most prominent cause of ingroup strife."

1: Holmberg--61 [8] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 152, 261, 578

"People constantly complain and quarrel about the distribution of food. They accuse each other of not sharing food, of hoarding food, of eating at night, and of stealing off into the forest to eat. This was particularly noticeable at Tibaera, where Silva and I made considerable effort to initiate cooperative planting of gardens—a custom foreign to the Siriono under aboriginal conditions. Several acres of land were cooperatively cleared and planted with maize. While the maize was ripening, bitter complaints were registered, and quarrels took place over its distribution, although there was plenty of maize for everyone. People accused each other of stealing maize before it was ripe, of harvesting more than they had a right to, of transporting it into the forest and eating it on the sly. Men complained that they had done most of the work, while the women were eating most of the crop. In fact, few men ventured on the hunt at this time for fear of returning to find that others had eaten most of the crop of maize."

1: Holmberg--61-62 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 152, 261, 578

"Quarreling over the allotment of meat is equally common. While the distribution of meat is ordi[62]narily confined to the extended family because the supply is seldom abundant, there is usually someone within the family who feels that he is not getting his share. Especially do the men accuse the women of hoarding meat, of eating it when the men are not around, or of consuming more than their share. Enía said to me one night, 'When someone comes near the house, women hide the meat; they cover it with leaves. When you ask them where the meat is they tell you there is none. They eat in the night and steal off in the forest to eat."

1: Holmberg--62 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 152, 261

"The reluctance to share meat is clearly reflected in the behavior of returning hunters. The bigger the catch the more sullen the hunter. The hunter adopts this pose so as not to be approached for game. On returning from the hunt a man sometimes does not even carry his game into the house but leaves it beside the trail near the house and comes in empty-handed, aggressive and angry. Upon entering the house he throws himself into the hammock. This is the signal for his wife or whoever else is around to bring him a pipeful of tobacco, which he smokes without saying a word. If he has brought the game into the house, his wife sets about to prepare it; if it is still out in the forest, she goes out to retrieve it. The hunter maintains his unapprochable manner until after the game has been cooked and eaten."

1: Holmberg--62 [2] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 578, 152, 562, 837

"Quarrels over sex can hardly be divorced from those over food. In this respect men seldom express aggression against other men who have seduced their wives but center it on their adulterous wives. Women, on the other hand, express little aggression against their adulterous husbands but channel it against the women who have caused their husbands to err. Women are thus believed to be the cause of most sexual disputes. Women may chide their husbands for being unfaithful, but the fact that the man always respond with more violent accusations that the women are unfaithful usually settles the dispute before it culminates in a violent end."

1: Holmberg--62 [3] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 152, 527, 578, 273, 626

"Drinking feasts are occasions on which much latent antagonism and aggression are expressed between men. At these feasts men openly air their complaints, whether these have to do with food, with sex, or with any other subject of contention. The disputes are settled by wrestling matches, and are usually forgotten after the period of drunkenness is over. It is interesting to note that aggression at drinking feasts is limited to wrestling matches; any other type of fighting is frowned upon and is usually stopped by non-participant men and women. On one occasion Eantándu, when drunk, struck an opponent with his fists. Everyone began to clamor that he was fighting unfairly, 'like a white man.' He stopped immediately."

1: Holmberg--62 [4] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 152, 578

"Except at drinking feasts antagonisms seldom lead to violence, and even at these the participants are usually so drunk that they are unable to harm one another. On other occasions strong words are used between disputants, but fighting with weapons and clubs is rare. This is especially true of the men, who seldom express direct aggression against each other, although among women quarrels frequently culminate in battles with digging sticks."

1: Holmberg--77 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 152, 181, 858

"The transition from infancy to childhood in Siriono society is a very gradual one. Not only are there no sharp breaks in the process of growing up, but from the time one is a child until one assumes the role of an adult, life is relatively carefree and undisciplined. In fact, this pattern of freedom so carries on throughout adult life that it can be truly said of the Siriono that they are a highly undisciplined people."

1: Holmberg--84 [5] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 152, 517

"When not wandering around the forest, the adult male is most frequently found in his hammock: resting, eating, smoking, playing with his children, arguing with his wife, cursing the weather, slapping insects, repairing or making arrows. Apart from these activities, he has little recreation. He has few friends but his immediate relatives; he plays no games; he indulges in no sports except occasional wrestling; he does not gamble; he rarely gets drunk, not more than six or eight times a year; he has no hobbies but sex, which he indulges in whenever the spirit moves him; he belongs to no clubs or associations; he has few magical or religious obligations; he sometimes takes part in singing and dancing with his tribesmen on nights of the full moon, but only rarely (about once a year) joins them in drinking and bloodletting to restore his fading youth. All and all, his activities remain on the same monotonous level day after day and year after year, and they are centered largely around the satisfaction of the basic needs of hunger, sex, and avoidance of fatigue and pain."

1: Holmberg--86 [5] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 152, 758

"As sickness not infrequently leads to abandonment and death, the slightest provocation is cause for alarm. When ailments appear, the Indians take to their hammocks and rarely leave them until all symptoms of the disease disappear or until death overcomes them. The conditions for cure, however, are very adverse. The patient lies in his hammock on the side of which a smoky fire is kept burning, thus shutting him out from proper air. Moreover, the house is always dark, and since it offers but the flimsiest protection from the weather, the patient is constantly exposed to rain and cold. On the psychological side, conditions are even worse. The patient is himself filled with an intense anxiety that he is going to die, and this attitude is reinforced by his relatives, who do little or nothing to change it."

1: Holmberg--86 [6] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 152, 734, 755

"The anxieties accompanying illness are, of course, very realistic among the Siriono, for they have almost no methods of effecting a cure. Shamans and medical practitioners are entirely lacking in this society, so that a patient must depend largely on the fortunes of chance in order to recover. Near relatives (always women), such as a mother or a wife, may sometimes chant over a person who is slightly ill, but if he takes a turn for the worse, he may be neglected and thus gradually die from lack of proper care. If the tribe is on the march, he may even be abandoned with no hope of recovery. Doubtless for this reason such a great fear of sickness exists."

1: Holmberg--86 [7] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 152, 753

"One of the principal signs of illness, apart from the pain that accompanies it, is the loss of appetite. When people cannot eat, they are believed to be very ill. If a person does not eat for several days, it is regarded as a sure sign that he will die. For this reason, patients never diet when they are ill. The anxiety based probably on the drive of hunger is sufficiently detrimental to them. In several such instances which I observed, people actually ate themselves to death."

1: Holmberg--87 [5] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 152, 761

"For a Siriono, death is the culmination of an often short and always bitter struggle for survival. Having wrestled valiantly to live, he wrestles equally valiantly not to die. But the odds are all against him. His environment and culture are harsh. Having no medicine to prolong his life, he is often consigned to an early grave; having no religion to calm his soul, he frequently dies with fear and bitterness in his heart."

1: Holmberg--91 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 152, 789

"Magic, like religion, is little elaborated among the Siriono. Most magical practice that has not already been described has to do in one way or another with increasing and insuring the supply of food. Hunters hang up the skulls of the animals and the feathers of the birds which they bag on sticks near camp or on posts in the house to influence the same animals to return. They smear their faces with uruku and glue feathers into their hair to make them more attractive to game. They also frequently paint the cotton string of their arrows and wrist bands with uruku to give them magical charm. When they kill a harpy eagle, they rub their bodies and hair with the white downy feathers of the breast to absorb some of the power of this mighty bird. They sing and dance not only for recreation but to promote the supply of game as well. All these and many other magical practices already mentioned appear to have as their principal function a reduction of the anxiety that centers around the satisfaction of hunger."

1: Holmberg--91 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
152

"If dreams are an unconscious expression of desires, then those of the Siriono clearly reflect their preoccupation with the quest for food."

1: Holmberg--91 [3] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 152

"One of the striking things about food dreams is that they seem to occur just about as often when a person is not hungry as when he is hungry. The food dream of Kénda, for example, was reported the morning following a feast in my house the night before. Hence, it would seem, that such dreams reflect considerable concern about food. Indeed, an intense psychological analysis of the dream life of the Siriono—which I have neither the data nor the skill to make—might support the theory that hunger is the most intense motivating force in the society."

1: Holmberg--92 [2] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 121, 152

"Siriono society presents any number of important anthropological problems, only a few of which can be mentioned here. Having presented in the foregoing sections a few of the descriptive data about the nature of Siriono society, I should like especially to include a few closing remarks, based on the Siriono data, about the problem of hunger frustration and its relation to culture. In this discussion, I propose ultimately to suggest a number of broad generalizations about the relationship between intense hunger frustration and habits and customs that perhaps can and should be tested in other societies where similar conditions exist. It is beyond the scope of this paper to deal with this matter cross-culturally. Before turning to a consideration of this problem, however, it will be necessary to clarify a number of concepts."

"Physiologists and psychologists are now agreed that the human organism is stimulated to behave by what are known as drives. These drives are the motivating states of an organism. They are of two kinds; primary (basic or innate) and secondary (derived or acquired). The primary drives are those which result from the normal biological processes and recur at more or less regular intervals, such as hunger, thirst, sex, fatique, and pain. (8) These are found in all human beings. Secondary drives, on the other hand,

8. For a list of primary drives, see Murdock, 1945, pp. 127-128.

are learned drives. They are the motivations which result from particular cultural situations. The secondary drives, of course, are based on the primary drives and are supported by the satisfaction of them. But unlike primary drives they are not universally the same. There are doubtless some secondary drives, like prestige and appetites, that are found in all societies; but their intensities and definitions, at least, vary widely from person to person and from society to society. Among the ancient Romans, for example, food preferences were elaborated to a pronounced degree, while among the Siriono there is almost no expression of these secondary drives. Similarly, among the Indians of the northwest Pacific coast the drive for prestige is intense, while among the neighboring Eskimo this drive is but weakly developed. (9).

9. For an excellent discussion of secondary drives, see Miller and Dollard, 1941, pp. 54-68."

1: Holmberg--92 [4] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 121, 152

"While it is axiomatic that every society must reinforce or satisfy the basic drives of man in order to survive, up until recent times culture has been little studied from the point of view of the effect of basic drives upon it. We know from the ethnological literature now available that the drives of man are satisfied by almost as wide a variety of techniques as there are societies existing throughout the world. But ethnologists have focused most of their attention on describing the diverse habits and customs that exist in human societies and have laid little stress on the role played by basic drives in shaping them."

1: Holmberg--93 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 121, 152

"Malinowski (10) was perhaps the first notable modern anthropologist to pay much heed

10. See, for example, Malinowski, 1939.

to the impact of basic drives on culture. He founded his functional system on a series of drives which he called the 'basic needs of man.' In the sociological field a similar point of view was expressed by Sumner and Keller (1927), who founded their sociological system on a number of universal drives. More recently, largely from the stimulus of psychoanalysis and behavioristic psychology, the study of culture from the point of view of drives (primary and secondary) has received notable expression in the works of—to mention a few—Miller and Dollard (1941), Ford (1945), Whiting (1941), Murdock (1945), Mead (1935), Benedict (1934), Linton (1945), Gorer (1938), and DuBois (1944). None of these, or other workers, however, has dealt with a society in which the drive of hunger is so constantly frustrated as to have become the dominant motivating force in shaping habit and custom. Siriono society seems, clearly, to be such a society."

"From the data that have already been presented, especially those relating to food, it would seem, indeed, that the most crucial problem with which the Siriono have to deal is that of securing enough to eat, and the fact that they have been much less successful than most societies in solving their economic problems has doubtless elevated hunger to its preeminent role as a motivating force in the society. The reasons for this are numerous and varied: physiological, environmental, and cultural. An analysis of the data suggests that the following are the principal factors that affect the quest for food and that result in the dominant motivating force of hunger.

I. Physiological factors.
  A. Hunger drive.
  B. Secondary drives based on hunger drive. (11)

11. These factors, of course, are also cultural.

1. Strong secondary drive or appetite for eating.
2. Satisfaction of prestige based primarily on hunger.
3. Sexual appetites to some extent based on hunger.
4. Aggression expressed in terms of food.
5. Anxieties center largely around satisfaction of hunger.

C. Sex drive mobilized principally through hunger.
    1. Family founded on economic basis.
    2. Extramarital sex partners seduced through rewards of food.
D. Fatigue drive.
    1. Long forced marches in quest of food.
    2. Tree climbing to harvest fruits, to retrieve game.
    3. Running through swamp and jungle in chase of quarry.
    4. Burden carrying.
E. Pain drive.
    1. Spines and thorns in body.
    2. Accidents (falling from trees, etc.)
    3. Attacks by animals (jaguars, snakes, alligators, etc.).
    4. Suffering from heat, cold, and rain.

II. Environmental factors.
A. Sparse supply of food.
B. Aleatory factors. (12)

12. These factors, like secondary drives, are also cultural.

1. High probability of nonsuccess in food quest.

C. Climate unfavorable for preservation and storage of food.

III. Cultural factors.

A. Technological insufficiency.

1. Cumbersome weapons.
2. Lack of tools, traps, etc.
3. Sparse development of agriculture.
4. No methods of preserving and storing food."

"A more detailed examination of some of these factors will perhaps better explain why it is that hunger becomes such a potent motivating force in Siriono society. In the first place, the supply of food, while sufficient for survival, is seldom abundant. People actually suffer frequently from food deprivation. As well as being sparse, the food supply is highly insecure; chance factors with respect to the food quest here play a much more significant role in affecting culture and behavior than in most other societies. When a hunter sets out in search of game, there is a high probability that his hunt will be unsuccessful or at least only partially rewarding. True, the forest contains some foods, such as palm cabbage and nuts, that are available and abundant the year around and others, such as certain wild fruits, that are relatively plentiful for about 4 months of the year, but these in themselves are not nutritive enough to sustain life for long [94] periods of time. The society, furthermore, is not equipped with cultural techniques for dealing with its environment so as to offer surety of food supply. Agriculture is but little developed; weapons are cumbersome; tools are almost lacking; and food is neither stored nor preserved in any abundance or for any length of time.

Accompanying these frustrating conditions are others adverse to the satisfaction of the hunger drive, especially the fatiguing and painful aspects of the food quest. The hunter and gatherer must go in search of food at least every other day throughout the year. He must walk long distances, as many as 20 miles a day, in his quest for food.

He may be forced to run at top speed through almost impenetrable jungle and swamp to bag a single monkey or coati, and once having bagged his prize he may be forced to climb a tree to retrieve it or the arrow with which he shot it. Game and forest products must always be carried back to camp—sometimes a long distance away. In walking and running through swamp and jungle the naked hunter is exposed to thorns, to spines, and to insect pests; he may fall from a tree (as he frequently does) while harvesting fruits or retrieving game; he is exposed to attacks from jaguars, alligators, and poisonous snakes; he sometimes suffers intensely from heat, cold, and rain. At least 25 percent of the time he returns to camp empty-handed or with insufficient food to completely nourish his family, for which he may be chided by his relatives. In short, while the food quest is differentially rewarding because food for survival is always eventually obtained, it is also always punishing because of the fatigue and pain inevitably associated with hunting, fishing, and collecting food.

Psychologically speaking, these are the conditions that give rise to the preoccupation of the Siriono with food problems, to their affective attituded toward food, and to their strong secondary drives based on the drive of hunger. The anticipation of the intensely punishing aspects of the food quest—actual food deprivation, possible nonsuccess on the hunt, fatigue, pain, and other forms of punishment—tends to evoke strong anticipatory responses with respect to food. These anticipatory responses—for example, strong food responses to weak hunger stimuli—are, in effect, secondary drives. For purposes of this discussion they may be regarded as appetite and anxiety responses."

"Actually psychologists are not yet agreed as to the differences between the secondary drives of appetite and anxiety. A satisfactory definition of and a distinction between these two concepts, though potentially of great value in a systematic analysis of culture and human behavior, has yet to be developed. Recently staff members (13) at

13. These definitions were developed by Dr. I. Child, Dr. John W. M. Whiting, and Dr. Clellan S. Ford. They have not been published as yet.

the Institute of Human Relations, Yale University, have proposed the following definitions.

> Appetite is a secondary drive whose motivating response is anticipatory and whose original response is a parasympathetic response which occurred just prior to or during the goal act of a given drive.
>
> Anxiety is a secondary drive whose motivating response is anticipatory and whose original response is a sympathetic response which occurred just prior to or during the goal act of a given drive.

In the above definitions, the distinction between appetite and anxiety, although both are anticipatory responses, rests on the assumption that in the case of the former the original response arises in the parasympathetic nervous system, while in the case of the latter it arises in the sympathetic nervous system. This is essentially the position taken by Mowrer (1940), who has dealt at some length with the problem of anxiety. It is doubtful, however, whether this distinction is of much practical utility in the analysis of cultural behavior. In the case of the Siriono data the important fact to consider is that there are strong anticipatory responses toward food. Some of these may be purely appetitive responses, others anxiety responses, and still others a combination of both. These anticipatory responses result, moreover, not from a single factor, but from a combination of all the factors listed above."

"Attention should be called to the fact that anticipatory responses toward food in Siriono society may be due, in part at least, to the conflicting factors that affect the quest for food. These conflicting factors seem to be much more pronounced among the Siriono than among most other peoples. On the one hand, a man is strongly motivated (and eventually forced, of course) to go in search of food because of a mounting hunger drive, a desire for prestige, or the need for a sexual partner. On the other hand, he is also strongly motivated to lie in his hammock and to postpone the search for food as long as [95] possible, because of the painful, fatiguing, and otherwise punishing aspects of the food quest. Before a Siriono picks up his bows and arrows to go on a hunt he doubtless asks himself: 'Should I or should I not go?' His stomach stimulates him to go; his relatives tell him to go; he may be motivated to leave by a desire to eat tapir, to seduce a potential wife, to acquire or maintain status, or for any number of other reasons. But when he recalls his last or earlier hunt—an occasion when he came back empty-handed after having tramped all day through jungle and swamp, when he was chided by his relatives for his lack of success or skill, and when he returned with his feet full of spines and thorns and his body covered with wood ticks and insect bites—his ardor to leave is likely to be considerably dampened. Under these conditions he is apt to try to get food first by some other means, and if unsuccessful, even to lie down in his hammock for a while until the hunger drive, or the social pressure to go hunting, becomes unbearable. In any case, if there is food around, he is not likely to expose himself to the rigors of

the jungle before it is all consumed, for if he departs under these conditions he is certain to find when he returns that the food has already been eaten by someone else. These conflicting factors are doubtless responsible for much of the behavior toward food. (14)

14. For an excellent discussion of anxiety and conflict, see Mowrer, 1940, pp. 126-128."

h: Holmberg--95 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 152, 261, 105

"The evidence for strong appetitive and anxiety responses toward food in Siriono society is overwhelming. Hasty preparation of food, lack of complex recipes, absence of standardized routines of eating, stealing off into the forest to eat, wolfing food, over-eating, reluctance to share food, lack of food preferences except on a quantitave basis, absence of etiquette and ritual with respect to food, eating when sick, eating when not hungry, excessive quarreling over food, fantasies and dreams about food, insults in terms of food, etc., may all be regarded as direct manifestations of the strength of the secondary drive of eating and of the anxiety that centers around the satisfaction of the hunger drive.

How do such attitudes and behavior toward food arise and develop in the Siriono child? A glance at the data from the life cycle clearly indicates that adult behavior toward food cannot be accounted for on the basis of the experiences of infancy and early childhood. The nursing infant is almost never deprived of food; whenever he cries his mother offers him the breast. He is greatly loved. He is exposed to almost no punishment except what he indirectly suffers from the rigors of the environment, but his parents do everything they can to protect him from cold south winds, from rain, and from insect pests. He can express aggression freely; he is not forced to walk or talk early; weaning is not a traumatic experience. In short, the infant is rarely punished or frustrated. Hence the conditions existing in infancy are not favorable for giving rise to the food anxiety manifested in adulthood."

1: Holmberg--96 [2] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 105, 152

"While the problem of the relationship between primary drives needs much further investigation, both in our own and in other societies, it seems as if Siriono society compensates its members for suffering from intense hunger frustration by allowing them great license in the realm of sex. I frequently observed that children were shown greater love when they were suffering from hunger, fatigue, or pain than at other times. With young children love was constantly used as a palliative. So, too, in adulthood sex freedom may compensate for hunger frustration.

Another indirect consequence of hunger frustration os that the strongest secondary drives among the Siriono seem to be those based on the primary drive of hunger. The strong appetite for eating has already been mentioned. Prestige, too, though not a prominent secondary drive, is based primarily on a person's ability as a food getter. Chiefs are always good hunters. Sexual appetites are also founded to some extent on the drive of hunger. Finally, the most aggressive behavior is expressed in terms of and over questions of food, and anxieties seem to center principally around the satisfaction of hunger."

1: Holmberg--96-97 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 105, 121, 152

"Indeed, if the psychoanalysts are correct in their interpretations of behavior in our own society, the situation found among the Siriono is in many respects reverse. While the strongest secondary drives and anxieties in our own society arise from sex frustration, among the Siriono they may arise [97] from hunger frustration, and while food often compensates for sex deprivation in our own society, among the Siriono love appears frequently to serve as a compensation for hunger. Hence it would seem unsafe to generalize the findings of psychoanalysis, based on data from our own society, to other societies where drive conditions are not comparable."

1: Holmberg--97 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 105, 152, 845

"The treatment of the sick and the aged in Siriono society appears indirectly to reflect hunger frustration. When a person becomes too old or too sick to hunt, to gather food, to bear children, or otherwise to take an active role in the society, he becomes a liability. If treated indulgently, the sick and aged might prove such a burden as actually to threaten the survival of the group. Consequently, people who are extremely ill or decrepit and whose period of usefulness is over are abandoned to die.

It might seem strange that the Siriono do not follow a similar practice toward deformed infants. Attention has already been called to the fact that some 15 percent of native infants are born with clubfeet. Considering that only about one in five such infants reaches adulthood, marries, and raises a family, it is rather surprising that the Siriono do not kill or abandon them when they are born. But such is not the case. During infancy clubfooted children are treated with as much love and respect as normal children. There are doubtless several reasons for this. In the first place, children enjoy a favored status in Siriono society. They are loved to excess and overindulgently treated. While a Siriono thinks nothing of abandoning the aged or sick adult, he would look with horror and disgust at anyone who abandoned or killed a child. In the second place, deformed infants, unlike the dependent aged, do not threaten the food supply of others. They nurse until they are about 3 years of age, and even as young children they eat much less than an aged adult. Finally, there is at least a 20 percent chance that a deformed infant will grow up to be a useful member of society, while it is a certainty that an aged dependent will always remain a burden."

1: Holmberg--97 [2] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 105, 152

"It is probably true that magical practice in Siriono society is likewise largely a function of hunger frustration. While the data from this aspect of culture are sparse, they relate principally to the quest for food. Attention has already been called to the fact that hunters do not eat the flesh of certain animals that they kill for fear that these animals will not return to be hunted by them. They also hang up the skulls of the animals and the feathers of the birds which they bag for the same reason. They smear themselves and their arrows with uruku, glue feathers into their hair, etc., to attract game. Men let blood to make themselves more valiant hunters; women to make themselves more valiant collectors. Such magical behavior seems largely to be a reflection of the disparity between the constantly recurring hunger drive and the means of satisfying that drive. Lacking realistic techniques for insuring his food supply, the native resorts to magical practices to secure it. Given the conditions that exist, it is surprising that food and hunting magic have not become even more highly elaborate.

It is significant to note that there appears to be an almost complete lack of sex magic among the Siriono. The reason for this may be that the sex drive, unlike the hunger drive, is seldom frustrated to any great extent. The Indians rarely lack partners. Hence the native feels no need to rely on magical practice to lessen his sexual tensions. In fact, this type of anxiety seems to be remarkably low in Siriono society. Such manifestations as excessive indulgence, continence, or sex dreams and fantasies are rarely encountered except when motivated by a condition of hunger frustration."

1: Holmberg--97 [3] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 105, 152

"The relative cohesiveness of the Siriono kin groups, the nuclear and extended families, as compared with the local group or band, seems also to stem principally from the condition of hunger frustration. While it is true that in most primitive societies kin groups are more closely knit than other social groups, the reasons for this may vary widely from one society to another. The important fact to consider here is that among the Siriono family solidarity seems to spring primarily from a lack of economic security. The supply of food is often not sufficient for distribution outside of the nuclear family and almost never sufficient for distribution outside of the extended family. Under conditions of this kind the local group or band becomes relatively unimportant as a social group. Except for supplying sex and marital partners, it has few functions. Practically all other functions are performed by or within the family. In short, the family embodies almost the totality of culture."

"By way of recapitulation and conclusion a number of generalizations are suggested for further refinement and investigation in other societies where conditions of food insecurity and hunger frustration are comparable to those found among the Siriono.

(1) Such societies will be characterized by a general backwardness of culture. A concern with food problems will so dominate the society that other aspects of its culture will be little developed.

(2) The primary drive of hunger will dominate all other basic drives.

(3) The sex drive will be mobilized principally through the drive of hunger.

(4) The food quest will be painful and fatiguing.

(5) Secondary drives generally will be little elaborated.

(6) The strongest secondary drives will be those based on the primary drive of hunger.

(7) Appetites for eating will be strong.

(8) Anxieties about food will be intense.

(9) Aggression will be expressed largely in terms of food; if not, such aggression will be so severely punished that it will be almost entirely repressed.

(10) Prestige will be gained and status maintained largely by food-getting activities.

(11) Positions of power and authority will be occupied by individuals who are the best providers of food.

(12) Etiquette and ritual with respect to food will either be lacking or it will be

elaborated to a pronounced degree.

(13) Fantasies and dreams about food will be common; if not, the subject of food will be so [99] repressed that food will not appear as a symbol in dreams.

(14) Magical practice will be devoted principally to increasing and insuring the supply of food.

(15) The most rewarding behavior in the society will be that which reinforces the hunger drive.

(16) There will be a tendency to kill, abandon, neglect, or otherwise dispose of the aged, the deformed young, and the extremely ill. If not, such dependents will occupy a favored status in the society.

(17) Kin groups will be more cohesive than all other social groups and will perform a greater number of significant functions than local or other internal social groups."

2: Holmberg--174 (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 261, 152

"Nnia said to me one night, 'When someone comes near the house, women hide the meat; they cover it with leaves of patuju (wild banana). When you ask them where the meat is they tell you there is none. They eat in the night and steal off in the forest to eat. Women even push meat up their vaginas to hide it.'"

2: Holmberg--184-185 (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 152, 827, 833

"During coitus in the bush, the woman lies on her back on the ground with her legs spread apart and her knees flexed. The man rests his knees on the ground between her legs; his elbows also rest on the ground on both sides of her body, leaving his hands free for scratching activity. The male plays the most active role during coitus, moving on the woman with considerable force and rapidity. The woman, however, does not remain completely passive, but adjusts herself to the movements of the man. Emotional pitch is intense during coitus, which is often accompanied by farting, a habit from which considerable pleasure is apparently derived.

When intercourse takes place in the hammock the positions are essentially the same, but it is more difficult to maneuver because of the added movement of the hammock. Sometimes during the height of the act a man's knees slip through the strings of the hammock and his whole emotional set is disturbed. Informants frequently made jokes [185] about their fellows in this respect. I even know one man who injured himself rather seriously when his knees struck the ground."

2: Holmberg--185-187 (1941-42) 1946 Siriono-1
116, 152, 837

"Food is one of the best lures for obtaining extramarital sex partners. A man often uses game as a means of seducing a potential wife, who otherwise might not yield to his demands. A concrete case will best illustrate the manner in which this is done. Ačíba-sóke (Long-arm) had a potential wife, a classificatory cross-cousin, whom he had been trying to seduce for some [186] time without success; she had consistently refused him her favors for fear of provoking a quarrel with her husband. One day, however, when there was little or no meat in camp and the woman's husband was off on the hunt, Ačíba-sóke returned with his family from a chase on which he had been absent for several days and on which he had been successful in bagging considerable game, including a peccary which was very fat. His potential wife, being hungry, was most anxious to secure a share of the catch. She waited until Ačíba-cóke was alone--his wives had gone for palm cabbage and water--and approached him with the following request, 'ma nde šéri tai etima; šediákwa' ('Give me a peccary leg; I am hungry.'). He replied, 'eno, čuki čuki airáne' ('o.k., but first sexual intercourse.'). She replied, 'ti, manédi gadi' ('No, afterwards, no less'). He said, 'ti, námo gadi' ('No, now, no less'). She replied, 'eno, maWgiti?' ('o.k,, where?). He answered, 'aiiti' (There'), pointing in the direction of

the river. Both of them set out, by different routes, for the river and returned, also by different routes, the woman carrying firewood, about a half an hour later. He secured his prize; she hers.

Of course, a man is often frustrated in his attempts to secure extramarital intercourse by the methods indicated above. Failures in this respect, however, result not so much from a reluctance on the part of a woman to yield to the desires of a potential husband who will give her game, but more from an unwillingness on the part of the man's own wife or wives to part with any of the meat that he has acquired, least of all to one of his potential [187] wives. In general, the wife supervises the distribution of meat, so that if any part of her husband's catch is missing she suspects him of carrying on an affair on the outside, which is grounds for dispute. Consequently men try to pursue their extramarital intrigues as secretly as possible. Instead of attempting to distribute meat to a potential wife after game has already been brought in from the forest, they may send in some small animal or a piece of game to the woman through an intermediary, and thus reward her for the favors they have already received or expect to receive in the future. I know of two such instances in which a woman's brother played the role of messenger, and in a number of cases I too acted as agent for two lovers who were having difficulty in carrying out their affair. Fortunately, I was seldom suspected of collusion."

2: Holmberg--187 (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 152, 578, 595, 837

"Fights and quarrels over sex are common but occur less often than fights over food. As has already been mentioned, such quarrels arise largely as a result of too frequent intercourse with a potential spouse to the neglect of the actual spouse; this is really what adultery amounts to among the Siriono. However much men are chided by their wives for deceiving them sexually, this seems to have little effect on their behavior, for they are constantly on the alert for a chance to seduce a potential wife with whom they have not had sexual relations, or to carry on an affair with a yukwáki (young girl) who has passed through the rites of puberty. In plural marriages, however, I rarely noted pronounced sexual jealousy between the wives, possibly because most plural marriages are of the sororal polygynous type."